

Message Text

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TAGS: PGOV, PINT, PEPR, IS
SUBJECT: THE KNESSET DEBATE ON THE CAMP DAVID AGREEMENTS

REF: TEL AVIV 13430

SUMMARY: THE DEBATE WAS LONG AND BITTER WITH THE ISSUE
OF SINAI SETTLEMENTS RECURRING CONSTANTLY IN THE
SPEECHES. WHILE SOME SPEECHES WERE UNSTINTING IN THEIR
PRAISE OF BEGIN AND WHAT EMERGED FROM CAMP DAVID, MOST
FOUND MUCH FAULT IN ONE OR THE OTHER OR BOTH. THE
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MAJORITY OF THE CRITICIS WERE VOTING FOR THE ACCORDS
BECAUSE THE ALTERNATIVE FOR ISRAEL WAS WORSE. THE DEBATE
REVEALED HERUT AND THE NRP AS DEEPLY DIVIDED. HALF OF
HERUT EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE ACCORDS BUT SUCH LEADERS
AS MOSHE ARENS AND YOSEF ROM WERE SHARPLY CRITICAL,
WARNING OF A GENERAL RETURN TO THE 1967 LINES AS THE END
RESULT OF THE PROCESS GENERATED BY THE AGREEMENTS. THE

NRP'S YOSEF BURG SAW THE PROMISE OF CHANGE IN THE REGION'S POLITICAL CLIMATE, BUT YEHUDA BEN-MEIR SAID HE COULD NOT SUPPORT THE ACCORDS. LABOR MKS WERE SHARPLY CRITICAL BUT FOR THE MOST PART SAID THEY WOULD VOTE FOR APPROVAL, NONETHELESS. EZER WEIZMAN SAID DESPITE THE CONCESSIONS, THE IDF REMAINS STRONGER THAN EVER, WHILE DAYAN NOTED A U.S.-ISRAELI UNDERSTANDING IN REJECTING A PALESTINIAN STATE. HE ASSERTED THAT THE IDF WOULD NOT BE RESTRICTED TO ITS STRONGHOLDS IN THE WEST BANK. BEGIN'S PERFORMANCE IN REBUTTAL WAS PARTICULARLY IMPRESSIVE. HE DEFENDED HIS EFFORTS TO RETAIN THE SINAI SETTLEMENTS AND DECLARED THAT THE ALIGNMENT PROPOSAL TO REOPEN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE SETTLEMENTS COULD JEOPARDIZE PEACE WITH EGYPT. AS A WHOLE THE DEBATE WAS FREE FROM DEMAGOGUERY AND REPRESENTED A SERIOUS ATTEMPT TO ADDRESS THE REAL ISSUES IN THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE. END SUMMARY

1. KNESSET APPROVAL OF THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS IN THE PRE-DAWN HOURS OF THIS MORNING (SEPTEMBER 28) CONCLUDED A BITTER, FRACTIOUS DEBATE THAT DRAMATICALLY HIGHLIGHTED ISRAEL'S INNER TURMOIL OVER THE PRICE OF PEACE. IN ALL, SOME 80 MKS, TWO-THIRDS OF THE MEMBERSHIP, SPOKE DURING THE 17-HOUR MARATHON. THE FORMAL DEBATE BEGAN ON SEPTEMBER 25 WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN'S REQUEST FOR KNESSET ENDORSEMENT OF THE CAMP DAVID AGREEMENTS AND OPPOSITION LEADER PERES' RESPONSE. PART II OPENED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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YESTERDAY MORNING AFTER AN EXTRAORDINARY CABINET MEETING TO CONSIDER GIVING MINISTERS A FREE VOTE IN PARALLEL WITH THE FREE VOTE ALLOWED IN THE MAJOR PARTIES. THERE ARE CONFLICTING REPORTS ON WHAT THE CABINET DECIDED, BUT IN THE KNESSET VOTE TWO MINISTERS ABSTAINED - LA'AM'S HURWITZ AND THE NRP'S HAMMER.

2. SOME SPEAKERS EMBRACED THE ACCORDS WITH LITTLE APPARENT REGRET, VOICING FULL PRAISE FOR BEGIN. THUS, LIBERAL PARTY LEADER SIMCHA EHRLICH UNCONDITIONALLY ENDORSED THE RESULTS OF CAMP DAVID, SAYING THAT AFTER NEARLY 60 YEARS OF BLOODSHED AND STRIFE, WE NOW SEE THE FIRST RAY OF HOPE FOR PEACE. MINIMIZING THE PAIN OF REMOVAL OF SINAI SETTLEMENTS (THE SINGLE MOST RECURRING REFRAIN IN SPEECHES OF SUPPORTERS AND OPPONENTS ALIKE OF THE AGREEMENTS), EHRLICH SAID, "WE ARE NOT DESTROYING ANY SETTLEMENTS. WE ARE MERELY MOVING THEM OVER A FEW KILOMETERS TO NEW LOCATIONS." AMNON RUBINSTEIN OF SHAI, ENTHUSIASTIC OVER CAMP DAVID, DECLARED THAT BEGIN WILL GO DOWN IN HISTORY AS THE LEADER WHO GUIDED ISRAEL IN THE ERA OF WARS AND INDEPENDENCE AND ALSO IN THE ERA OF PEACE AND TRANQUILITY. SIMILARLY, LIBERAL MK ABRAHAM

SHARIR WELCOMED THE ACCORDS AS THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF THE BLOODY WARS THAT HAVE PLAGUED US FOR DECADES. ALTHOUGH A TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCE FOR THE NATION, SHARIR MAINTAINED THAT DISMANTLING THE SETTLEMENTS IS A PRICE WORTH PAYING FOR PEACE, AND IN BEGIN'S OWN HERUT PARTY, MK YITZHAK YITZHAKI IMPORED THE NATION TO UNITE AROUND PEACE. "LETTING THIS OPPORTUNITY PASS WOULD BE A CRIME" FOR WHICH WE WOULD HAVE TO ANSWER TO FUTURE GENERATIONS. HERUT MINISTER ARIK SHARON, OBVIOUSLY DEFENSIVE OVER THE FATE OF THE SINAI SETTLEMENTS, STATED HE WAS READY TO FACE THE SETTLERS' CRITICISM IN THE HOPE THAT NOW THE GOVERNMENT WOULD INTENSIFY SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY IN THE

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WEST BANK, GAZA AND THE GOLAN.

3. HOWEVER, THE HERUT PARTY HAS BEEN BADLY SPLIT BY THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS AND MANY HERUT SPEAKERS STRONGLY ATTACKED THE ACCORDS; SEVERAL TORE INTO BEGIN PERSONALLY.

SUPER-HAWK HERUT MK MOSHE ARENS, CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESTIGIOUS FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE COMMITTEE, AND YESTERDAY'S LEAD-OFF SPEAKER, DESCRIBED SADAT'S DEMAND FOR REMOVAL OF THE SETTLEMENTS PRIOR TO NEGOTIATIONS AS AN ULTIMATUM, A STRANGE PREAMBLE TO A PEACE TREATY. HE CALLED THE DEMAND TO UPROOT FAMILIES FROM THEIR HOMES LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND FARMERS FROM THEIR VILLAGES UNPRECEDENTED BETWEEN ENLIGHTENED STATES AND PEACE LOVING LEADERS. ARENS THOUGHT THAT THEREDEPLOYMENT AND REDUCTION OF IDF FORCES IN THE WEST BANK WOULD BE A SERIOUS HANDICAP TO MAINTAINING PUBLIC ORDER AND AS WELL AS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE TERRORISTS, AND HE CHIDED THE PRIME MINISTER FOR PRESENTING ONLY THE ROSIEST PICTURE OF FUTURE RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB WORLD. ARENS REMINDED BEGIN THAT HE HAD ONCE CALLED, AS DID ABBA EBAN, THE 1967 LINES "AUSCHWITZ LINES". ARENS SAW IN THE AGREEMENTS A PROCESS THAT COULD LEAD ISRAEL TO RETURNING TO THE 1967 LINES ON ALL FRONTS. WITH THE RISKS INVOLVED, ARENS COULD NOT ACCEPT THE CAMP DAVID AGREEMENTS.

4. OTHER HERUT MKS WHO REJECTED THE ACCORDS INCLUDE YOSEF ROM, WHO SAW SADAT PLAYING A CLEVER GAME THAT WOULD END IN STRIPPING ISRAEL OF DEFENSIBLE BORDERS. SADAT HAD RECEIVED WHAT HE WANTED IN SINAI. HE HAD RAISED THE QUESTIONS OF THE WEST BANK, GAZA AND JERUSALEM, AND ROM BELIEVED THAT THE LEADERS OF OTHER ARAB STATES WOULD "REAP THE FRUIT OF THE SEEDS SADAT HAD SOWN" IN THOSE AREAS. HE THOUGHT THAT THE AGREEMENTS EMBODIED TWO DANGEROUS MISCONCEPTIONS: THAT A SEPARATE AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT WAS WORTH ANY PRICE; AND THAT ONCE EGYPT SIGNED A PEACE TREATY THERE WOULD BE NO DANGER TO ISRAEL FROM ITS NORTHEASTERN FRONT. IN A SPEECH DELIVERED IN MOURNFUL TONES, GEULA COHEN (HERUT) ATTEMPTED TO ADDRESS BEGIN PERSONALLY. HOWEVER, THE PRIME MINISTER DEMONSTRATIVELY WALKED OUT FROM A PACKED HOUSE, AS SHE BEGAN HER ADDRESS, APPARENTLY IN RETALIATION FOR GEULA'S INCESSANT HECKLING OF BEGIN'S SPEECH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE DEBATE ON SEPTEMBER 25. SHE STATED THAT BEGIN WAS ELECTED ON A PLATFORM THAT STOOD IN OBVIOUS CONTRADICTION TO THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CONCESSIONS MADE AT CAMP DAVID. SHE ACCUSED HIM OF MISLEADING THE PEOPLE AND BETRAYING THEM AND DECLARED THAT BEGIN'S ONLY COURSE NOW WAS TO RESIGN AND GO TO

THE POLLS.

5. THE SPLIT IN THE NRP OVER CAMP DAVID WAS EVIDENT IN THE SPEECHES OF INTERIOR MINISTER YOSEF BURG, HAIM DRUCKMAN, YEHUDA BEN-MEIR AND AVRAHAM MELAMED. DECLARING THAT, LIKE MOST POLITICAL ALTERNATIVES, THE ACCORDS REPRESENT A CHOICE BETWEEN BAD AND WORSE, BURG BELIEVED THAT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AGREEMENT LIES "IN THE CHANGE IN POLITICAL CLIMATE" THEY PROMISE. LIKE SEVERAL OTHER COALITION SPEAKERS, BURG BLAMED THE PEACE NOW MOVEMENT FOR CAUSING AN INCREASE IN THE CONCESSIONS DEMANDED OF ISRAEL. MELAMED SAID HE EMPATHIZES FOR THE SINAI SETTLERS, BUT CLAIMED THAT HE HAD WARNED AGAINST ESTABLISHING THESE SETTLEMENTS. HE QUOTED FROM SCRIPTURES IN MAINTAINING THE SLIGHTEST CHANCE FOR PEACE MUST NOT BE MISSED. ON THE OTHER HAND, DRUCKMAN REJECTED THE ACCORDS, SAYING THAT AFTER PAYING A HEAVY PRICE FOR VICTORY IN WAR, ISRAEL WAS ABOUT TO BE DEFEATED IN PEACE. BEN-MEIR EXPLAINED HIS DECISION TO ABSTAIN. THE AGREEMENTS ARE DANGEROUS FOR ISRAEL. IN WORDS PLEASING TO PERES, BEN-MEIR SAID HE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED THE BRANDT-KREISKY DOCUMENT AS A BASIS FOR PEACE. NEVERTHELESS, HE WOULD HAVE SUPPORTED THE CAMP DAVID OUTCOME, WERE IT NOT FOR THE REMOVAL OF SETTLEMENTS.

6. BEN-MEIR'S REFERENCE TO THE BRANDT-KREISKY STATEMENT HIGHLIGHTED THE LABOR PARTY'S DISCOMFITURE. LABOR MKS GENUINELY BELIEVE THEY COULD HAVE OBTAINED A MORE ADVANTAGEOUS AGREEMENT FROM SADAT. SPEAKER AFTER SPEAKER AMONG ALIGNMENT STALWARTS ATTACKED THE AGREEMENTS AS A BAD BARGAIN, BUT SAID THEY WOULD VOTE FOR THEM BECAUSE THE ALTERNATIVE WAS FAR WORSE. ABBA EBAN'S APPRAISAL WAS

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AMONG THE MORE MODERATE ONES. HE WARNED THAT THE GOI HAS, IN EFFECT, RELINQUISHED ITS CLAIMS TO SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE WEST BANK, BUT HE HAD NO DOUBT THAT THE ACHIEVEMENT AT CAMP DAVID WAS GREATER THAN THE PRICE. RABIN WAS ONE OF THE FEW WHO NOTED THAT THE TALKS COULD ONLY HAVE SUCCEEDED WITH U.S. INVOLVEMENT. HE ALLUDED TO AN ESCAPE HATCH FOR ISRAEL SHOULD NEGOTIATIONS FAIL, NOTING THAT COMPLETE EVACUATION OF THE SINAI WOULD ONLY FOLLOW THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE AIRFIELDS IN THE NEGEV AND NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH EGYPT.

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7. WINDING UP THE DEBATE LONG PAST MIDNIGHT, THE GOVERNMENT DREW ON ITS BIG GUNS. DEFENSE MINISTER WEIZMAN SAID SADAT CAME TO JERUSALEM BECAUSE OF THE STRENGTH OF THE IDF, AND DESPITE THE SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS ISRAEL IS MAKING, THE IDF REMAINS STRONGER THAN EVER. DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER YADIN DECLARED THE CHANCE FOR PEACE WITH ISRAEL'S LARGEST NEIGHBOR WAS OF OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE. FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN DECLARED THAT THE U.S. DID NOT APPLY PRESSURE ON ISRAEL AT CAMP DAVID. THE DESIRE FOR PEACE CREATED THE PRESSURE FOR A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME. DAYAN DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN ISRAEL'S WITHDRAWAL TO THE OLD INTERNATIONAL BORDER WITH EGYPT AND JORDAN'S DEMAND FOR TOTAL WITHDRAWAL FROM THE WEST BANK, WHICH CANNOT CONTAIN SECURITY FOR ISRAEL. HE MAINTAINED THAT IN THE AGREEMENTS THERE ARE SEVERAL UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE U.S., INCLUDING MUTUAL OPPOSITION TO ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE. JORDAN WILL BE THE PARTNER FOR A SETTLEMENT IN THE EAST, AS ACCEPTED BY SADAT AND CONFIRMED BY PRESIDENT CARTER. DAYAN DENIED THAT THE IDF WOULD BE RESTRICTED TO STRONG POINTS. HE ASSERTED THAT ISRAELI TROOPS WOULD CARRY OUT PATROLS ON THE WEST BANK.

8. CONCLUDING THE DEBATE, BEGIN OUTDID HIS USUAL GOOD FORM IN REBUTTAL, APPARENTLY BUOYED BY GROWING ASSURANCE IN THE LATE STAGES OF THE DEBATE THAT HIS VICTORY MARGIN WOULD BE IMPRESSIVE. HE WAS, IN TURN, WITTY, SARCASTIC, INCISIVE AND RESTRAINED. THERE WAS LITTLE OF THE HISTORICALS THAT MARRED HIS PERFORMANCE AT THE DEBATES FOLLOWING THE PERES-SADAT MEETING IN VIENNA. HE MAINTAINED HIS DIGNITY THROUGHOUT. BUT HE WAS HARDLY GENEROUS TO HIS OPPONENTS. HE WAS SCATHING IN HIS RIDICULE OF LA'AM MK MOSHE SHAMIR, WHO HAS VIED WITH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GEULA COHEN IN VEHEMENT REJECTION OF THE BEGIN PLAN AND THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS. BEGIN SAID THIS OCCASION DIFFERED FROM ALL PREVIOUS ISRAELI/EGYPTIAN AGREEMENTS BECAUSE ALL OTHER AGREEMENTS LEFT THE STATE OF WAR INTACT. BUT THIS TIME ISRAEL IS DISCUSSING THE SIGNING OF A FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT. BEGIN HOTLY DENIED THAT THE ISRAELI DELEGATION HAD NOT FOUGHT SUFFICIENTLY FOR THE SETTLEMENTS IN SINAI, BUT SADAT HAD BEEN ADAMANT. HE ASKED RHETORICALLY WHETHER THE CHANCE TO ACHIEVE PEACE SHOULD BE THROWN AWAY FOR THE SAKE OF SETTLEMENTS. THE ALIGNMENT PROPOSAL TO REOPEN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE SETTLEMENTS COULD JEOPARDIZE PEACE WITH EGYPT AND HE SAID THAT IF THE KNESSET DID NOT APPROVE THE EVACUATION AT THIS SESSION, THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD NOT GET OFF THE GROUND. BEGIN APPEALED TO THE MKS TO VOTE AS THEIR CONSCIENCES DICTATED, AND HE DIRECTED HIS REMARKS SPECIFICALLY TO THE COALITION BENCHES.

9. THE DEBATE PROCEEDED ON A SERIOUS LEVEL, AS BEFITTING THE HISTORIC NATURE OF THE OCCASION AND WAS GENERALLY FREE FROM DEMAGOGUERY. IT WAS A DETERMINED EFFORT TO ADDRESS THE REAL ISSUES OF THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE AFFORDED BY CAMP DAVID. IT WAS ALSO ONE OF THE EXTREMELY RARE OCCASIONS WHEN ALL 120 KNESSET MEMBERS WERE IN ATTENDANCE. AMONG THE FEW SURPRISES IN THE VOTE: KNESSET SPEAKER AND HERUT VETERAN YITZHAK SHAMIR'S ABSTENTION; THE ABSTENTION OF HERUT DEPUTY MINISTER YORAM ARIDOR; AS WELL AS THAT OF LABOR MK YIGAL ALLON. ALL HAD BEEN EXPECTED TO VOTE FOR THE ACCORDS. ON THE OTHER HAND, LA'AM MINISTER ELIEZER SHOSTAK WAS THE ONLY MEMBER OF HIS PARTY TO VOTE FOR THE AGREEMENT. LEWIS

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